THE ALTERNATIVE

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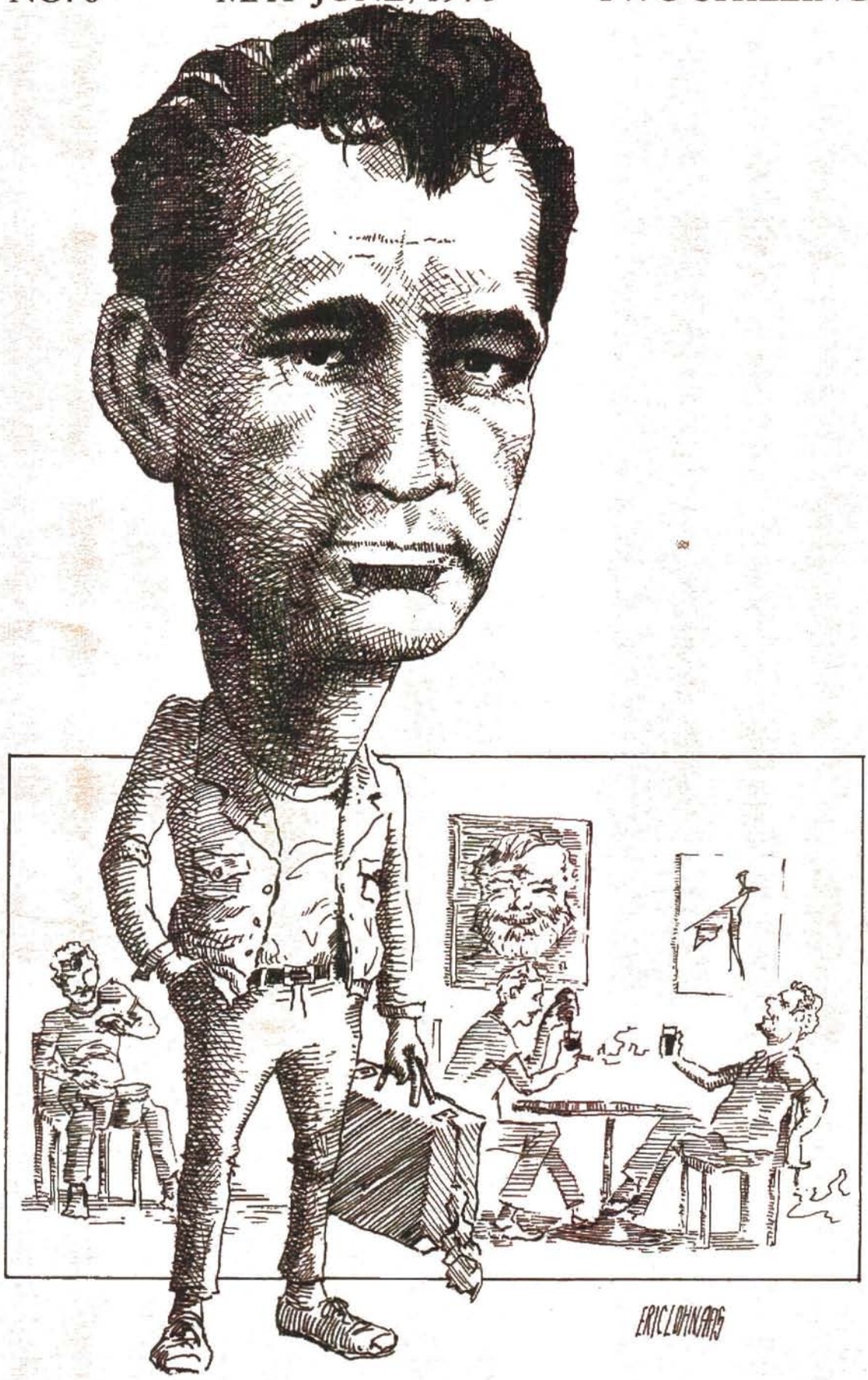

From Jack Kerouac and the Beat Generation to Abbie Hoffman and OUR Generation. . .something has changed. Page 3

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THE ALTERNATIVE: TO BARE THE WITNESS AND THE TRUTH

Published remarkably without regard to race, color, creed, or (most redundantly of all) national origin.

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TO OUR READERS

The Alternative you are now holding (or perhaps burning) is going through a period of alembic which will climax this fall when, with a circulation of thirty thousand, it reaches through free distribution every significant campus in the Midwest. While increasing the magazine's circulation we shall increase its size and of course require much more copy--copy we would prefer to see written by Hoosiers, for Hoosiers always put us in mind of Athenians from palmy antiquity. Thus after three years we break from the closed society of the Saturday Evening Club and welcome intelligent essays on social problems, economics, political theory, literary criticism, American history and subjects for general ridicule. Please do contribute. Send articles to our Bloomington office; you will be handsomely compensated.

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This Is the WAY the World Ends

By George Nathan

I write to inform the readers of this great journal, in all the far-flung corners of the English speaking world, of a sublime distinction which has befallen backwater Indiana University and which will soon bring to Bloomington, Indiana the brassiest celebrity making it the laughing stock of this howling republic. For in yet another ludicrous attempt to expiate the crushing guilt of racial prejudice the dizzy students of Indiana University did, in solemn and properly sanctioned election, raise to high public office an admitted gangster. Not a gentleman of Sicilian extraction nor a member of the Purple Gang but a man whose irresistible pedigree justified his ringing revelation: "I am a Methodist, male student, and Black Panther."

Lured by such impressive credentials the pupils' reaction was as instinctive as the nocturnal flight of a summer moth into an oncoming truck. **Splat,** and Mr. Keith Parker (**Homo panthera pardus**) became President of all the pupils, paladin of the "repressed people," haunting conscience to the pig administration, **enfant terrible** to the Robber Barons on I.U.'s Board of Trustees and the risibilic source of one guffaw after another. Thus today Parker the Magnificent stands on destiny's launching pad, his future known but to the stars. Though now merely the Chief Executive for thirty thousand exculpated white intellectuals I shall not be surprised to see him rise to the Bloomington City Council, ultimately becoming State Commissioner for toll bridges or Admiral of the Indiana Navy. For King Parker I is the paradigmatic politician: handsome, graven, magisterial, and inane. After forty-seven dreary years Bloomington, Indiana has finally begotten a prosopopeia of the Hon. Warren Gamaliel Harding.

Yet with King Parker I there is an irksome difference, for where Harding was a Republican in the image of Taft or McKinley, our Chief Executive is--ahem--a Black Panther cut from the cloth of Huey Newton (manslaughter, two to fifteen years) or Bobby Seale (contempt of court, presently indicted for murder and inciting riot), and this racy designation has bestirred some of the state's "Nervous Nellies" to renewed interest in the affairs of their local Harvard. So it is that while King Parker I thumps his hairy chest, our liberals and resident Platoes beat their angelic breasts, and the local jolly boys--in their dark beer cellars and book-lined studies--jovially raise their steins in celebration to yet another year of merry nonsense provided by a student government joyriding on a $30,000 budget fraudulently clipped from every student's tuition--a student government about as representative of the Hoosier students (24,000 of whom utterly ignored its election) as is leprosy. But, alas, the good people of our state fail to appreciate the humor issuing from all this, and I should like to convey to them the sweet flavor of campus politics, that they too might enjoy the Liberals' latest contribution to American education--institutionalized buffoonery.

For though King Parker I calls himself a gangster, he is nothing of the sort. Rather he is an enormously talented prankster whose utterances and actions--while

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THE ALTERNATIVE May-June, 1970

The Way We Were

by John R. Coyne, Jr.

When Bob Tyrrell rather casually asked me to do a short piece on the differences between the Beats of the fifties and the New Leftists of the sixties, I rather casually said I would. And now that it's time to produce, I wish I were in Mongolia, up the creek without a typewriter. For what I'm expected to do, I fear, is to sum up a couple of the most complex decades in American history, a task for which I may be even less suited--believe it or not--than someone like Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

For one thing, I haven't really sorted things out for myself yet. The fifties were special for me, the memories still having more to do with emotion and nostalgia than with reason and analysis. And I think that most of us who came of age in the fifties feel much the same way. Occasionally some of us get together again, a little beefier now, the bellies beginning to push out, the hairlines retreating, the worry lines a little deeper. We stand at some obscure bar where no one remembers us, a bar where once we held court, and we gulp down draft beer and dago red and forget about those martinis most of us have--much against our better sense--graduated to, and we dust off our memories and dredge up forgotten names and adventures. "Remember the night Jack punched John the bartender just as he was coming over the bar to throw us out? John went flying into Kathleen's lap and knocked her into the steam table. Good old Jack." "Remember that night we got stranded outside Santa Rosa and finally hitched a ride with two escaped cons who'd stolen a Studebaker?" "Remember that night in Denver we sat up all night chewing that peyote Dick had brought back from Mexico? And the peyote turned out to be soft wood chips?" And we begin to stand a little straighter, one foot hooked up on the rail and we forget the wives and the kids and the cushy jobs we're all just a little bit ashamed of. Some boob at the bar asks Bill Moylan what he's up to now, and Bill, who spent four years in the fifties writing an immense novel about war and Christ and courage and patriotism and death, flushes and finally blurts out that he sells toys. But Mike comes to the rescue and tells the boob to bug off and we seal it up and forget it. And after we've drunk a few more gallons the years drop off and it's 1950 again and we see the faces as they were, lean and tough and cynical and mean and absolutely compassionate. And we dream again of cross country trips, sometimes hitching, sometimes on Greyhounds, trips begun at about three in the morning when we'd had too much of New York and New Yorkers. And those magnificent places we fled to--Tuscon, Santa Fe, Denver, Rapid City, Waco--are ours again for just awhile.

Like most important things, we didn't know we had it until we lost it. It all began I guess, in the late forties, when the first great wave of veterans hit the campuses, and universities became almost overnight the new centers of American society, a great chain of autonomous city-states stretching from coast to coast. And suddenly, the former inhabitants of the universities--the 4 Fers, the evaders, the young deferred instructors who had whiled away the war by ogling coeds and preaching received Marxian doctrine--all were washed away as the veterans remade the campuses in their own images. Years older than their classmates chronologically, and centuries older experientially, they were tenderly cyncial, hard drinkers and womanizers, and they had learned in Europe, in the Pacific, in obscure Southern and Southwestern military bases pretty much all there was to know about the basics of manhood. They were men, real men, who'd tried everything at least once, and many of them had been through hell and come out the back door. And just when they began to thin out, the Korean veterans returned and the whole thing began again.

It was this suddenly imposed society, a man's society, that nurtured the first crop of Beat writers. The Beats, for the most part, were an integral part of the new society, and in one way or another they'd learned most of the same basic lessons. Unlike the New Leftists, they were absolutely unpolitical. As long as the machine ran they were willing to leave it alone, and they had seen enough (unlike the new radicals, who have seen little more than college campuses and the irrelevant life lived there) to realize that as bad as the system might be, it was still the best system yet devised. They were willing to leave politics to the politicians, for whom they felt no great love but whose antics amused them mightily (and this explains a great deal about how most of us felt about Joe McCarthy. We never loved him, but we all got a great kick out of the way he used to scare the liberals).

I was never a Beat. By the time I came back from Korea the movement had already pretty much fizzled. But many of them were still around and they were more like us than any of our non-veteran classmates. We knew the same things, we drank the same things, we hated the same things, and we shared, despite our contempt for the pin-headed bureaucrats who too often ran things, a deep and profound love for America. Our experiences had taught us to eschew frills, to look for what was basic. Thus, we believed strongly in those emotions such as patriotism which we had seen bring out the best in our comrades, and although cynical (albeit our cynicism now seems pretty superficial), we believed that the important things could be reduced to a very few essentials--kindness, honesty, bravery. Courage was the big thing for us, and if we had any single idol (outside of Kerouac, of course) it was Hemingway. Probably naive, but it seemed to us that Hemingway was one of the very few big American guns who understood anything at all of what manhood meant. Our girls, most of whom we picked off from young instructors, seemed to agree, and until 1960, there was always at least one girl acting out the Lady Brett bit.

We weren't Beats, but we could talk to them and they could talk to us in a way we've never been able to communicate with the radicals. Our ideals can never be theirs, for our personalities, our style, our whole sense of humor is completely alien to them. Most of us understand the radicals, I think, for we were the last reading generation, and we know that each idea and goal which the New Left believes it has discovered was discovered by someone a few centuries ago. No, they'll never understand us.

Yet I'm flailing, and I fear that you still have no idea of what we were like. So let me try it this way. I wrote a story, sometime around '56, which was published in a small, obscure, now-defunct periodical. The story became, for a year or so, famous at Columbia, and whenever I bump into survivors from those years they talk about it. The story, I think, can tell you more about how we were--what our humor was like--than pages of exposition. It's called "A Manhattan Love Story," and it goes like this (please read to the end).

Artie Shaw's clarinet cut momentarily through the smoke and babble of the small downtown bar. An old waiter with tired eyes approached the couple in the dim back booth.

"Arv annuver?"

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How to Enlist the Free Market in Pollution Control

by John C. Meyer

The problem of air and water pollution, unlike many of the so-called problems incessantly urged upon our attention by the media, is a genuine cause for concern. Pollution is something all can agree is undesirable and it is not a condition of nature, physical or human, which is not susceptible to change. Furthermore, it is a legitimate sphere for governmental activity, because it is a physical impingement by some individuals on others which they cannot adequately cope with either individually or by voluntary association.

The crux of the problem is that the polluter makes other individuals pay part of the cost of his activity, a situation economists call an "external diseconomy." At this point in the discussion someone will surely say, "pollution is not a 'cost'; it is something we must abolish." However such a person does not actually believe this; his position is merely the product of inadequate analysis. It is palpably absurd, for example, to suggest that, if we had eliminated 99% of automobile exhaust pollution, we would pay $25 billion to eliminate the final one percent. We definitely want to reduce pollution and we want to get the greatest reduction possible for the resources we put into this enterprise; we are, however, unwilling to allocate unlimited resources to the problem, and especially to the complete elimination of all pollution.

Once we have defined our objective as the reduction of air and water pollution at the least cost (both in terms of direct dollar costs and in terms of the indirect costs of social dislocation), the question of how it should be done can be more intelligently approached. The conventional approach through government regulation and government programs has been virtually the only way considered until now. Is it therefore necessary to resign ourselves to yet another massive, inefficient set of regulatory agencies and government programs? I believe there is a better way–a way to accomplish a great reduction in potential government spending in this area and an even larger reduction in the incipient pollution bureaucracy.

The key to this alternative is a system of pollution taxes, coupled with a "pollution tax credit" (similar to the investment tax credit) for those investing in pollution control. Such a tax system would harness the machinery of the free market by internalizing the diseconomies of pollution within the market. In simple terms the internalization of this external diseconomy would mean that the polluter pays through taxes for the damage he does. Thus the cost of pollution to all of us is added to the cost of the activity which pollutes, be it driving a car, producing electricity or steel, or burning trash.

This alternative combines the virtues of (comparative) simplicity and great flexibility. Since pollution does not respect state lines, a basic Federal tax on each type of air and water pollutant would be necessary--probably to be levied only on pollution above a certain amount, for practical reasons. To this tax any state or locality would be free to add a further tax. Since the cost of a given additional amount of pollution is greater in some places (e.g. New York City) than in others, state and local pollution taxes can contribute to a rational distribution of such polluting enterprises as society chooses to pay for. The tax rates can be varied to meet the urgency of the problem, provided that they are never made so high as to be equivalent to an outright prohibition for the average polluter in an industry at any particular time. If the rates were made prohibitive, the advantages of a tax over a regulation would be lost. In particular it would no longer allow a gradual adjustment of each industry affected to the new conditions. Furthermore there is less incentive to evade a tax one can at least temporarily live with than a regulation which makes the continued operation of one's business impossible, or nearly so, if complied with.

The largest single cause of pollution today is the automobile. Since the problem is not centralized as is that of an industrial plant, it is somewhat more difficult to administer a pollution tax in this area. Since the car owner will ultimately pay for anti-pollution equipment (as he is already paying for safety equipment) and since the efficiency of such equipment depends on the car owner who must maintain it, he should pay the tax directly. This arrangement will promote competition to satisfy the demand for low-pollution vehicles which such a tax will create.

Since all states require automobile licenses and many require an annual automobile inspection, the tax could be collected with minimum of additional bureaucracy. The Federal Government would need to require an annual inspection in all states. This inspection would include a measurement of the rate of pollution caused by each car and the tax could be computed from that rate times the number of miles each car had been driven in the past year. (A pollution factor should also be added to the gasoline tax.) Of course there are a number of tax evasion possibilities here, but the same would apply to any system of regulation. Evasion of this tax would do very little to thwart its purpose, since its purpose is to affect an average, not any particular individual, and since such evasion would necessarily be partial, at least until someone invented a perfect anti-pollution device. Furthermore, the tax would still function as an incentive to buy a cleaner automobile, since the tax evader may have a guilty conscience, often has to bribe an inspector, and is always in some danger of getting caught.

The advantages of taxation over regulation are clear in the field of automobile pollution. Regulation must simply prohibit pollution above a certain minimum and cannot touch pollution below that minimum. With a pollution tax there is no need for any minimum at all since each car must be tested anyway. Thus continuous market pressure on everyone to reduce pollution is substituted for a clumsy all-or-nothing approach. This pressure can be readily adjusted by a simple change in the tax rates, whereas a change in Federal emission standards often causes injustice and disruption, while usually not applying to cars already on the road. A tax can be introduced at a level tolerable to those affected and increased from year to year until it reaches a level sufficient to attain whatever objectives we may set in the field of automobile pollution control.

Each car's inspection sticker could have its pollution rate recorded on it so that localities could easily collect their own pollution taxes. For example, New York City could collect a special tax on each communter's car according to its pollution rate. A pollution tax credit could be given both to the automobile companies and to any car owner who installed an anti-pollution device in his car. A tax could be imposed on each car produced in proportion to its rate of pollution, but it would merely be passed on to the consumer. It is, however, necessary that there be a direct tax on the car owner so that he has an incentive to keep his anti-pollution devices in good repair. Furthermore, a direct tax on the car owner, who is almost all of us, is a protection against an irrationally high tax, since the voters will know they are the ones paying the tax.

Except for automobiles, government and industry are the major polluters, and most of their pollution is concentrated in large units. The only cure for governmental pollution is a government program, and this is the area on which President Nixon has placed his major initial emphasis. For major industrial plants the tax solution is relatively easy to administer. Some industries will adjust with relative ease under the tax incentive. Others may be unable to accomplish a substantial reduction in pollution at a reasonable cost. As a result of this their products will become more expensive and their sales will decline; this is exactly the result we should want. To the extent that their products are unimportant, or that substitutes for them are readily available, these industries will tend to disappear in the long term, and this is also as it should be. Importance and substitutibility are indefinite concepts whose meaning will vary with the pollution tax rate structure which is in turn determined by how urgent we find the pollution problem at any time. At all times there will be a continuing

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The Morons At Generation GaP

by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

One of the leading questions addling America the Shaky seems to be that of environmental pollution. It is one of those baffling American problems eliciting a platitude from us all and a confession of guilt from no one. Nevertheless as we continue to wring our hands about pollution I fear someone will have to do something. Which probably means Mr. Nixon will eventually raise feculence to cabinet rank, appropriations will be made for the new department and universities will con more money from their legislatures for the study of rubbish. Environmental pollution will become a bit costlier, but that will be that and we shall all rest easier knowing someone is doing something.

So it is that my colleagues and I, ever the young visionaries, are looking beyond pollution of the land, the air and the sea to the pollution of different environs--that is, to pollution of the mind. Under stifling clouds of foolishness America's intellectual environs are strewn with such a clutter of canards and myths, enlightened conservationists hardly know where to commence the cleanup. But as one simply has to start somewhere, and as I have always regarded the myth as a critical pollutant of sound thought, let us begin by ridding the landscape of one of America's most popular and inelegant myths: to wit, the "generation gap."

That it has become such an obsession is disturbing though hardly surprising. After all this is the nation which amended its constitution to eliminate demon rum and is even now hunting down something called institutionalized violence. Yet, though America has long been a haven for mind-polluting mythology, reflective persons are always awed at the speed in which the most absurd myths spread from sea to shining sea. In the past, organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union popularized American myth. Today myths are still popularized by daffy organizations, for instance Americans for Democratic Action, but our chief agent of intellectual pollution is more subtle for it is none other than our communications media itself. Every day the windiest nonsense and most arrant lies emit from radio, television and newspapers to foul and corrode the American intellect.

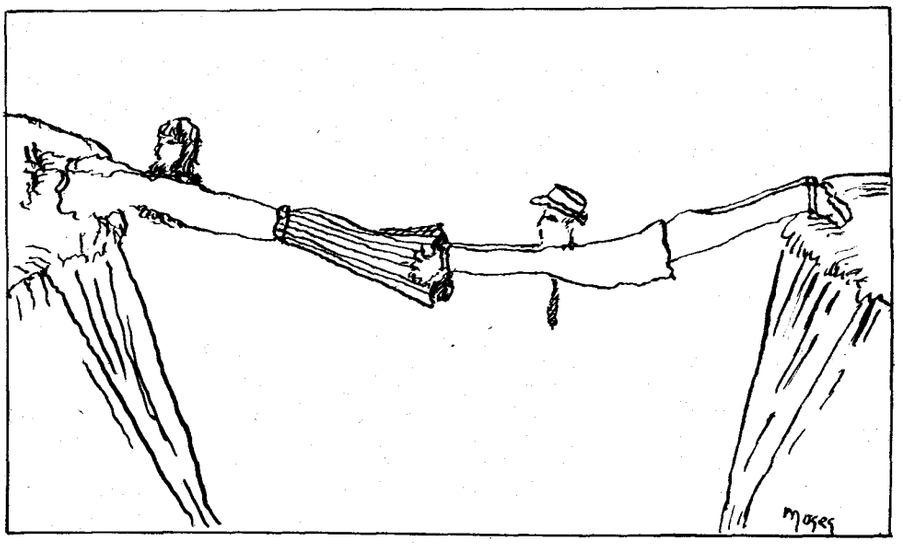
In the case of the mythological generation gap I expect that once upon a time some neurotic from the New York Times, upon being rebuffed at a sock hop, decided teenagers different - if not odd - and ipso facto worthy of a feature article. Now we all know from reading our newspapers and watching televized reportage that reporters consider anyone different from themselves shocking -- possibly even dangerous. The whole media pounced on the young like buzzards on a juicy carcass. Yet because they are so terribly naive and unsure of themselves, the moguls of the media: a) became obsessed about youth's "alienation," b) inflated it into one of their sempiternal crises and c) collapsed into suggesting that all adult Americans "learn something from the rising generation."

Thinking persons recognize such exhortatory assertions as the dizziest twaddle. The young are not strangely foreign; they are just young. Culturally they ascribe to about the same mores as their parents. Further, as the Urban Affairs Council has noted, the median age in America has risen from twenty-four in 1910 to about twenty-seven years and eight months today. By 1985 the median American age will actually be six months higher. The population as a whole is not getting younger. Although the young population has gotten larger, the adult population has gotten larger still. Thus if the pundits are correct in judging American youth as another one of our little crises, it is at least a receding crisis, and one that should reaffirm all our faith in The Pill. Finally if there is some wondrous enlightenment emanating from youth then America's elaborate educational system is either unnecessary or directed by persons of the wrong age. Are the pundits suggesting that university professors trade places with their pupils? There is a touch of genius here, but as genius is not a characteristic of the pundits, I imagine they are once again simply wrong. Nevertheless being wrong has never daunted the communications media in the past and today they are stridently insisting that the young are so foreign, they are separated from aging America by a widening chasm, and adult America must soon bridge this gap if it is not to forever suffer isolation on the wrong side of paradise. Bosh. The whole myth is just one of those monstrosities which spring from a seed of truth to seduce the gullible and interest the jaded. It will pass from the nation's cocktail chatter as soon as it is talked to death. But though we know how this myth came to be scattered about, we still do not know from where it evolved.

As with all myths its origins have been lost in the misty paths from antiquity. However as we approach our own time more distinct features begin to appear. Certainly two significant elements contributing to the mythological gap have been America's growing educational industry and American affluence. As Bruno Bettelheim has incisively noted young Americans before 1900 were by the age of fourteen or fifteen responsibly employed. Today young persons of this age are chained to educational factories.

Assuredly widely disseminated knowledge is of paramount importance in our technetronic age, but this does not mean we must banish our young people to four years or more of delusive confinement, utterly bereft of responsibility, burdened with psychological strains, electrified with frustrations and virtually enthralled in "arrested adolescence." Yet for over half a century, this has been the increasingly normative situation. This autumn more than fourteen million students enrolled in high school (over twice as many as in 1950) and more than seven million enrolled in college. In high school the student is generally inflicted with second-rate instruction from third-rate minds while the college student undergoes what can only be called acute cultural shock. There just has to be a better way to cultivate our geniuses!

Now in the world's wealthiest and most generous nation I do not mean to imply that our student serfs have it all that bad. American students do not read Plato in chilly cells by candlelight. Lamentably they rarely read Plato at all (irrelevant you know), but what they do read they read in the most comfortable quarters imaginable. Through their parents' extravagant solicitude and a spate of generous student loan programs American students compose the most uniformly affluent class in the world. Perhaps it is because of their wealth and leisure that adults consider youth foreign, but this does not make youth a new breed of man. Some day they too will be reduced to adulthood. The behavioral styles of youth generally follow the cues of the adult generation and



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things could hardly be otherwise.

In the middle fifties businessmen came across masses of bored young persons with bulging pockets and decided to relieve them of their monetary tumescence. Resorting to all their prodigious marketing skills and employing all of Madison Avenue's cunning, business created a specialized youth market segregating the young from the rest of society and motivating it to buy products fit just for them. This technique is not new; for years it has been used to foist on society several kinds of deoderant or beer when just one would suffice. A single company will make deoderant for the man, deoderant for the woman, deoderant that perfumes, deoderant that clogs. The marketeers continually create new markets delineated by one characteristic or another, and the profits roll in. When they found a group of potential buyers delineated by age, possessed of unlimited funds and with unlimited time to spend those funds, they struck a mother lode. First they picked the "teenager" clean. Then as the "teenager" was dragged toward adulthood they dreamed up the "young adult" and began catering to all his special needs. Much of the apparent disparity between the young and the old is a matter of fashion. If there exists a dangerous generation gap merely because a young student spends his money differently than a middle-aged television commentator, then I submit that there are all sorts of dangerous gaps dividing our nation, for I have noticed that men dress differently than women, judges live differently than construction workers, ministers spend their money differently than politicians and college professors (usually) entertain themselves differently than chorus girls. Obviously such differences are neither cause for alarm nor reform. I imagine for every college aged clothes designer reputedly expressing the accumulative aspirations of exactly this generation, there are fifty middle-aged entrepreneurs who show him how to design his trash. Recent authoratative polls have indicated that those young aliens lurking about our campuses ultimately aspire to about the same cultural goals as their parents. Most students are still interested in money and security, as Christopher Jenks has repeatedly demonstrated. And the increasing period of time they spend on campus merely shows that they too are concerned with leisure. If they dress, talk or amuse themselves differently it is because they are following the choreography of enterprising adults, not because they ran off and held a national synod and concocted some exotic culture. In our other-directed society persons generally follow the fashion of their peer group. The difference with the young, a difference vitiating the idea of a generation gap, is that their peer group has its fashion fixed by adults. Admittedly from the great homogenized mass of young Americans there are some aberrant life-styles, but even youths in these groups follow their adult gurus.

Now this is not to say that the claims for a generation gap rest solely on the evidence of dress, for allegedly the young think purer, more luninous thoughts than those on the grayer side of the generation gap. At least that is what the pundits would have us believe and it is nonsense; neither side thinks very often, and those few young who do think generally ponder the antique thoughts of their aged gurus.

Intellectually and physically the new left is really rather old. Though David Dellinger insisted that to convict him in the Chicago 7 Trial would be to hurl a gauntlet to all America's young, he is a tottering 54 and everyone of his colleagues is over 25. These truly are Bettelheim's obsolete youth, and is there not a tragic aura about grown men fussing through America stomping their feet at authority, and expecting government officials to babysit for them while they await the Great Revolution? These men and their liegemen now waging a kind of dream world guerrilla warfare on the campus are the casualties of Liberalism, men who drank too deeply of its ambiguities and contradictions and now must inhabit a delusive world of ghastly abstractions and superstition, forever doomed to eccentricity and sterility.

Their much talked about ideas, though daring in their absurdity, are not very new. As a matter of fact vague thoughts about communal living, collectivism and international pacifism are quite old and increasingly out of cadence with the thought of coming intellectuals like Milton Friedman. Their hedonism, astrology, sensitivity training and so forth was new at about the time humans first experimented with fire. And I doubt any younger generation in the Western world ever failed to consider its parents hypocritical, though I doubt any preceding younger generation was ever itself so phony.

So the ideas supposedly held by youth are not new. They are at best cheap and disfigured replicas of the zanier ideas of men like John Dewey and the intellectuals of the second New Deal whose disciples now dominate our university faculties. Here is perhaps the most forceful argument against a generation gap, for the young are merely the innocent repositories of their older mentors' balmy notions. I have never seen one poll to refute this assertion. A prominent national magazine is about to release a poll of thirteen of the nation's most characteristic universities reaffirming a poll it ran eight years ago which concluded that seniors become overwhelmingly more "Liberal" after four years of college. This should encourage all those despairing educators who have come to feel the incidence of campus barbarism proof that American education has failed. It has not. Liberals are successfully indoctrinating their students with Liberalism. There is no generation gap between ADA liberals of the Galbraith-Schlesinger variety and the idealistic young children who journeyed to Chicago's Democratic Convention to rouse the nation's conscience. The failure is not so much with American education as it is with American Liberalism.

But not only do Liberal educators discredit the theory of a generation gap, Liberal parents show an attitudinal similarity with their children that, though manifested less vigorously, casts doubt on the generation gap. Studying radical students Kenneth Kenniston finds that they generally adhere to the values of their parents. The parents of young leftists are generally old leftists and any difference is merely one of degree, not of essence. Further there is not one young radical intellectual of any significance. As with the peculiarity of youthful dress, the freaky peculiarity of reputedly youthful thought is choreographed by adults. If Herbert Marcuse lives much longer the National Academy of Science will authorize a special commission to study him. Paul Goodman was an artifact years

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Battle Hymn on the New Republic

by Una Bersal

Gotta change the order of things--man
They've been long in the doing but I think we can

Old rules of order are stuffy and smug
So let's grab the reins by pulling the rug

The old man can give with the ways and the means
Our sure live generation will take over the scenes

We'll chop down the old with a socialized axe
Give the world a new way without burden of tax

It may not last long on just flower power
But we'll make a record as the boys of the hour

We won't ask a guy--now who is your father?
To be a descendant is a whole lot of bother.

And when it comes time to provide the feedin'
We'll just shake the apples in our garden of eden.

Man--

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A Conversation With Dr. Ernest van den Haag

Born in the Hague, Holland, Dr. Ernest van den Haag was educated at the Universities of Naples and Florence and at the Sorbonne. He received his Ph. D. from New York University. He has taught philosophy economics and sociology at the college of the City of New York and the University of Minnesota. For fifteen years Dr. van den Haag has been professor of Social Philosophy at New York University and lecturer in Sociology at the New School for Social Research. A very popular speaker, he has served as guest lecturer at Yale University, Columbia University, and the University of California (Berkley).

The author of three highly regarded books, his latest The Jewish Mystique, *will be reviewed in this famous old journal in September. Dr. van den Haag was a Guggenheim fellow in 1967 and has published in many scholarly journals such as the* Quarterly Journal of Economics, British Journal of Sociology, *the* American Scholar *and* Ethics. *Popularly he has appeared in* Commentary, Commonweal, Modern Age, Encounter *and* National Review.

Possessing wide erudition and a scholarly mien, Dr. van den Haag is a formidable debater, though he has often proved an embarrassment to his opponents by brazenly disrupting emotive, tear drenched forums with a coldly analytical argument. As a matter of fact we found Dr. van den Haag's closely reasoned interview such an outrage that we have asked thim to become a member of our advisory board. What will we think of next?

Tyrrell: Do we have a Welfare State" today Dr. van den Haag? What is it and how has it manifested itself?

van den Haag: What is a "Welfare State"? A state which tries to provide for the welfare of its citizens by making sure that the conditions exist in which they can provide for themselves? That is what we always try to have. A state that regards itself as the custodian of people's welfare? We are veering a bit in that direction. But we haven't gone all the way yet.

Tyrrell: How so? How is the state showing itself to be going in that direction?

van den Haag: Well, for instance, if it becomes a public responsibility to take care of my health, or sickness, then it soon will be part of the task of the state to make sure that I don't make myself sick. If I as a taxpayer have to pay when you go to the hospital because of cancer, I may also feel inclined to say that you are not to be allowed to smoke, because when you smoke it raises my taxes. In short, if that sort of thing expands, it will necessarily reduce people's freedom. If they are free to do things which are good for their welfare or bad for their welfare, we have freedom. But if they are compelled to act for their welfare as conceived by the government, we don't. And if money is going to be spent to take care of people's welfare then this last is more likely to happen.

Tyrrell: At the Saturday Evening Club we criticize welfare, because its mode of operation, the bureaucracy, is so haltingly inefficient. Do you think welfare is working?

van den Haag: Well, I think what you now have in mind is welfare in the narrower sense as payments made to people who do not earn enough income to live on. I think everyone agrees that it has been working very badly because the payments have been made in such a way as to reward people for abandoning their families--e.g., federal aid to dependent children is given to the family when the breadwinner is not there. So if a father has several children and is able to earn only, say, three or four thousand dollars a year, in many cases if he leaves the family, the family is able to get more from welfare than he could have earned from them. And he can keep the money he earns. Hence there is--was--a tendency of creating more and more of these dependent children. Further, when a welfare recipient earned money, that money was deducted from his welfare payment; hence, he had no good reason to earn any money. Now, Mr. Nixon has made in this respect proposals of which I fully approve, not to make aid to families dependent on abandonment, but merely on the income of the family and to make it possible for people who are on welfare to earn income which is not deducted from the welfare receipts so as to give them an incentive to earn. He has made many other proposals most of which I approve, some of which in my opinion do not go far enough. I have some additional proposals. There are two things which I, in the main, would advocate. One, dependent children are the major and fastest rising part of the welfare population. I think the way to avoid them is to make it possible by wide distrubution, both of information and of actual implements, for all women who wish to use contraceptive devices. And secondly, to inspire them to do so I would give a bounty to every woman, say of one hundred dollars, who accepts a contraceptive device of a semi-permanent nature, e.g. a so-called intra-uterine device.There will be in about six months or so a small chemical pill that is being tried out already that will release contraceptive chemicals for about a year. These other things I think would really make it much easier to avoid children whom the parents cannot support.

But this is not all. I would go a step further. It seems to me that a man who has intercourse with a woman knowing that she is not protected against conception and being himself unwilling or unable at the time of conception to provide for the child is deliberately or by neglect placing an undue burden on the taxpayers. And I would make that a crime. punishable with several years in jail--that is if it can be shown in court that a man aided in conception when he was either not willing or at the time not able to provide for the child that was the likely result, then he should be punished accordingly. If you take these two measures, I think the number of people on welfare instead of going up, as it

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is now, will go down very rapidly.

You ought to remember that the number of people on welffare has gone up in a time of rising prosperity and of declining unemployment. That is, in other words, the increase in the welfare population has been largely created by what you have called before the welfare bureaucracy, that is by the way the welfare money has been spent. Now I wish to make it clear that I think some people will always have to be on welfare unless our insurance schemes are greatly expanded which will amount to about the same thing. People will be unable to earn a living because of sickness or age or so...That is unavoidable and I think we are affluent enough to take care of them. What I am saying is that we should not take care of them in a way which encourages people to create dependents which have to be paid for by the taxpayers. I would also say that we are at the present time discouraging people from taking jobs by paying them in welfare in many cases as much as they could have earned by taking a job, and at the same time, if they were to work, deducting it from their welfare payments, as I mentioned before. This I think should also be changed.

Let me add here incidentally that I see a great virtue in Mr. Nixon's proposals of paying just as much in Alabama as in New York City. You see, by doing that we will make Alabama more attractive and New York City, in comparative terms, less attractive. Right now, you know that in New York you can get almost ten times as much welfare as you can in Alabama. And that means that people will come from Alabama to New York. Now, that is disadvantageous in general terms because quiet apart from the direct payments, there are many indirect costs caused by anyone living on welfare in New York which are far higher than they are in Alabama--added police, added fire protection, and so on and so on. It is in the social interest if people who have to receive welfare stay in rural areas. And the way to do this is to increase the payments in rural areas relative to those in the cities. And that in a sense is what Mr. Nixon has begun to do; therefore I support his proposals in this respect too.

Tyrrell: You have said that "Those now coming from social work schools seem to contribute as much to the creation of social problems as to their solutions." Now administration of Mr. Nixon's program seems almost impossible given the stupidity of social workers. How can this problem be solved?

van den Haag: I think the social workers we have now, contribute no less to the creation than they do to the solution of social problems. There is no evidence whatever that people serviced by social workers fare any better than they do if simply given the money without advice and supervision. I should favor that welfare cases be investigated with respect to need or income. I do not think any other "social work" is neccessary except in a few special circumstances.

Tyrrell: What about the cost of these proposals, though? Some estimate that the cost is going to be over twice what Mr. Nixon estimated it would be. Also are you not concerned about the growing specter of statism?

van den Haag: Well, it's very hard to figure out the cost. I think in the short run it certainly will rise. By how much no one knows. In the long run his proposals may decrease the cost, by reducing the number of dependent children, by encouraging welfare recipients to work, by making it possible for them to work, by training, and so on and so on. In the long run there might be a decrease.

Tyrrell: Two points. Your point on birth control. Are you not suggesting that the state take a moral stand abrasive to the sensitivities of various religious groups, say, Roman Catholics?

van den Haag: If a Catholic woman does not want to take a birth control device, no one compels her to.

Tyrrell: She's paying taxes to a state...

van den Haag: And I'm paying taxes to support children that I haven't created. I think that's very immoral. I'd rather pay the taxes to prevent the children.

Tyrrell: Why not get away from the whole situation?

van den Haag: Oh, if you have a better solution, let me know.

Tyrrell: Well, perhaps the state ought to get completely out of welfare.

van den Haag: That's good, and what will these people do?

Tyrrell: As you say, we can increase insurance.

van den Haag: Well, it's a little late for insurance. I mean there are several million dependent children. What will you do with them? Since you are no longer supporting them on welfare, how will they be supported?

Tyrrell: Private institutions.

van den Haag: Great. You let me know where the private institutions are. Ideally speaking it would be much nicer if you could do away with the problem. But you see, we have to distinguish between solving the problem and simply defining it away because we don't want to solve it. These people are there. I do not think it will be politically acceptable, I do not think it would be morally acceptable to simply let them starve to death. If you mean to say that what we should do is to act in such a way so as to reduce their number by the proper ways of distributing welfare, by discouraging people from being on welfare, then I certainly agree with you. And that's what I've been talking about. But I don't think we can simply stop paying.

Tyrrell: In the programs you have advocated we will simply continue our peregrination toward statism. Somehow you do agree that we have to take the state out of welfare?

van den Haag: No, I do not agree with it. I think welfare as I tried to say before, welfare payments are a permanent part of our social organization. In our society there will always be people who for reasons beyond their control, will be unable to earn enough money. I think we will have to provide for them in some way, whether by insurance or welfare doesn't make much difference. I think that's a minor technical distinction, frankly.

Tyrrell: You have written extensively about pornography. Though Earl Warren could not, can you define pornography?

van den Haag: I think so. It's not wholly impossible to define. Pornography is not literature, and it is distinguished from literature very clearly. It seems to me, the difficulty is largely created by lawyers who can't get themselves accustomed to the fact that things change over time. You see, the best way of looking at it is if you look at it in terms of fashion. Today, as you must have noticed, girls wear mini-skirts. The mini-skirts reveal far more than fifty years ago was regarded as decent to reveal. Now it seems to me that a judge fifty years ago who might have had a girl punished for indecent exposure was not wrong. He followed contemporary standards. And a judge who does not do so today, by today's standards is also not wrong. In short, it is perfectly conceivable that these things change. Our laws permit the jury to decide what the standard is at any given time. The jury, being of course a section of the general public, is likely to make a reasonable decision in terms of the times. So the difficulty of definition never has struck me as a major thing. It's a question of principle whether you want to prohibit it at all, and that seems to me to be largely decidable in terms of tradition. We can live without making it illegal, making it partially legal, and in some countries it is made legal, and we can live that way too. The idea that some people have--who make pompous speeches on freedom being endangered by censorship of pornography--is historically idiotic. I know of not a single case where freedom was eroded and an anti-freedom regime came in preceded by restrictions on pornography. The Nazi regime after it came in did restrict pornography. The Communist regime after it came in did restrict pornography. I don't know of any case where the regime has been brought in by this. Therefore it seems to me whether a democracy wants to make this restriction or not is a matter of opinion. But I think it is pompous nonsense to say that that will ruin our freedom in general. It may reduce the ability of pornography fanciers to get the pornography when and where they want. But even there let me point out there is a point to be made. It seems to me that the people who fancy pornography to some extent fancy and enjoy it because it is prohibited. Therefore perhaps we are doing them a favor by keeping it prohibited. That way they will enjoy it more, and the censors will enjoy censoring, and the public will enjoy being protected and that's that. You see, censorship will never be such, for practical purposes, that a man who is bent on getting a pornographic book will not get it. What censorship basically will mean is that it becomes a little more difficult for the casual person to get pornography. Instead of finding it everywhere, he will have to take some trouble, and he won't take it unless he feels strongly impelled. I don't find any harm in it.

Tyrrell: You recently wrote an article in **National Review** on sex education in the schools. Would you care to comment on that article?

van den Haag: I explained, and this has always been my view, that sex education is

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The Bitter Fruits of Socialism: Slave Island in the Caribbean

by Lawrence D. Pratt

Before Fidel Castro began experimenting with the lives of seven million Cubans, that island nation enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in Latin America and was virtually on the threshold of developing a truly modern economy. Today it is a drab anthill, the Cuban love of "fiesta" squelched beneath the staggering burden of Communist party plans, threats and mismanagement.

Castro's version of Cuban history (as well as that of the leftists in this country) holds that the Cubans--especially the peasantry--were being exploited by unscrupulous U.S. imperialist businesses (backed by the might of the U.S. government) working in collusion with corrupt Cuban governments. Now of course there was foreign investment in Cuba, but before Castro the island's prosperity resulted precisely from the amount of foreign capital--a large amount of it American--which had gravitated there.

The Socialists' doctrinaire attachment to their theories has always prevented them from accepting a basic fact of life--there simply is no abundance of goods lying around for man to gather up. The only way to get more is to produce more, and the only countries which have high levels of productivity-- and a high degree of consumer satisfaction thereby--are those countries which have allowed the free market to allocate the investment of capital.

In Cuba, there is not even an economic plan as such, for everything is a function of the political decisions of the elite which rules Cuba more firmly and completely than did any Pharoah ever rule Egypt. The economy is now a complete mess and functions only because the people are too hungry and terrorized to rise up against Castro.

Rationing has become so severe that now--partially to avoid the huge waste of time spent in queues (people are even hired to stand in for others), and partially because of the acute scarcity of goods--Cubans will soon be standing in line only twice a month for virtually all their food. Few other lines will form, since little else is available for anyone but the Communists and the officials of the neighborhood spy groups.

There is very little meat. Nor is there fresh milk--even for the very young--because the planners decided to export milk-fed veal in order to buy arms and machinery and now a campaign is being waged in the press to convince the Cuban people how much they really do like slugs (the little garden creatures that leave behind them a trail of mucus).

Children's health is such a problem that there are even a few malnutrition clinics to pep them up so they can be shipped back to their squalid daily lives. Others can get free hospital care--if they are willing and able to donate a pint of blood (blood sold abroad buys things Castro says Cuba needs) and suffer the malpractice of Cuba's increasingly untrained medical corps.

More and more children are being "educated" (indoctrinated to cheerfully accept the robot existence of Marxian man) in boarding schools so that the "counter-revolutionary" attitude of many parents will not be adopted by the young. Weekend sessions are held at school to get the children to inform on their parents and neighbors. Their carefully planned vacations--and indeed a good deal of their school time--is spent in para-military marching and drill. Children's brigades are sent out to the fields to perform some of the tasks left undone by the enormous percentage of the population forcibly mobilized to harvest the sugar crop.

For the first few years Castro & Co. oriented their efforts toward a crash industrialization of the economy. Once accomplished, industrialization would have been offered as proof that the U. S. has kept Cuba in the colonial, semi-captive state of a one-crop economy.

After this failed miserably, Castro abruptly reversed himself and proceeded to exhort the Cuban people to produce more sugar than ever before. Now claiming that a one-crop economy is a virtue, The Chief hopes to be able to buy the machinery needed for gradual and diversified industrialization. For months and months Castro has been calling for a sugar harvest in 1970 of 10 million tons. The largest pre-Castro harvest was 7.2 million tons. His efforts have averaged closer to five million until now.

Intent on achieving this goal, Castro has hardly bothered to conceal the slave-camp nature of his regime. He has threatened absenteeism--even of a few hours--with harsh penalties. To the women of Cuba he has extolled the glory of dying in the fields while cutting cane. For the great harvest he has conscripted more and more youths into the army. Children go to "school" in the fields. Wages are inconsequential, the black market is very expensive, and both it and barter are punishable by longer exile to the cane fields. The quota of "voluntary" hours is high and impossible work norms of cutting as much as 5000 pounds daily per worker are the rule.

Castro's capital is not money and machines but the blood and sweat of slaves. A vast network of spies is at work in the neighborhoods and in the fields. Pocketing a potato to take home to a hungry family can result in a sentence shortened only by "occupational therapy" such as cutting cane with a machete for more than the normal 10-to 12-hour stint.

The people have answered these conditions with slowdowns and sabotage. Such actions can now bring the maximum penalty subject to the discretion of overseers or summary tribunals.

It is little wonder that at least 600,000 Cubans have fled Cuba--many at extreme peril. The exodus has included blacks and whites, middle class and peasant--in short, anyone who is fortunate enough to find a way out. But with the effrontery of which only a totalitarian regime is capable, Radio Havana declares itself to the world as "the liberated territory of America."

This is the "liberation" some of America's leftists would bring about here. That a Cuban model is the holy grail, pursued by our new left in particular, speaks clearly about their ignorance or their intentions or both. If a Castro-like regime were ever to rule America the eccentrics of the new left would be the first to suffer extermination. No one does "his own thing" in Cuba.

Larry Pratt is the midwest director of the Intercollegiate Studies Institute.

VAN DEN HAAG (contined from page 8)

unnecessary for people who have fairly normal ability to learn from experience, and useless to people who do not. You see the people who do not have a normal ability to learn from experience are also unable to absorb cognitive information such as the school gives. They may have some emotional disorder which is not cured by listening to lectures. Indeed they have problems, but these problems are in no way solved by what is called sex education. Now as for the great majority, I do not thing they have any problems absorbing knowledge about sex. Now what educators usually say is that it is better to learn from them than at the street corner. I think the street corner is a fine place. I don't think educators have any superior knowledge about sex. I think, in fact, that the street corner is considerably more glamorous.

The only advantage I can see in sex education is that it may help us solve the population problem. Because, as I pointed out in my article, schools usually succeed in making whatever subject they teach quite dull. They may succeed in doing that with sex and people may get off sex as they go off reading Shakespeare after the school has taught it, and by so doing, it may actually solve the population problem. But apart from that, I do not think that educators are in possession of some sort of special knowledge or experience that the children have to learn from them. It seems the schools are far too eager to teach the things that needn't be taught and very uneager to teach the things that need to be taught. You do not learn outside the school or home experience mathematics or classical languages or economics, and the schools are reluctant to teach them and do a bad job when they try. As for sex I have really no fear. □

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"We think the Military-Industrial-Complex is O.K.

Edgar D. Witcomb
Governor of Indiana

A Song to Thee, Oh Military

by D. Peyton McQuillen

In a large society, it is usual for men to refer to their fellows in terms of social groupings, whether they be political, occupational, religious or whatever. Our own society practices this, and as it becomes more and more complex we find new groups created from old ones and connected by their interests and beliefs. However, it at times becomes useful to social critics and politicians to create compound groupings where they do not exist and to emphasize some diabolical nexus that is more the result of technological coordination in a complex society than a Great Conspiracy. Current periodical literature includes extravagant references to the Military-Industrial-Complex (M-I-C). Supposedly this structure is a self-conscious cabal of war lords and captains of industry, working for self-perpetuation and profit at the expense of the taxpayers and the national interest. Now in a society as complicated as ours such complexes are easy to find but difficult to interpret. In the last issue of **The Alternative** my good friend and colleague, George Nathan, mordantly discoursed upon the Political-Educational-Complex--a conspiratorial alliance between politicians and professors for the purpose of propagating their mutual rubbish. Other examples of such "complexes" could be readily given, and it seems clear that the discovery and unmasking of a complex depends on where a crusading journalist wishes to direct his attack and who serves to gain from the resultant disclosure. Unfortunately I doubt such creative writing serves to enlighten the citizenry.

As the United States heads into the third decade of the frustrating and psychologically vexatious game of strategic chess which has replaced traditional warfare, M-I-C is receiving an increasing share of the blame for any problem which arises. Left-of-center politicians and the media's "student leaders" find in military spending an ideal release for their frustrations. Defense is that part of the federal budget of which citizens are most aware and the one from which they realize the least direct benefit. Thus it is politically vulnerable, especially in our increasingly ideological politics. Further, Liberal politicians receive little financial support from large corporations which they subsume into M-I-C and stand to lose nothing in the immediate future by vilifying these industrialists and military men. Radical students, seeking a conspiracy to blame for society's problems, find the armed forces and their suppliers obvious culprits: they are those bogey men who stage wars for their own gratification and profit, letting millions starve as Viet Nam is laid waste by napalm and our own country slowly dies from stinking air. Unfortunately, as **The New Republic** has recently admitted, the Nye Committee disproved this simpustic thesis years ago. Yet a coalition of Liberal office-seekers and "the kids,"--having established an acceptable scapegoat--are proceeding to find it guilty of any and every social injustice. By surveying the facts we can see these accusations as, at best, gross oversimplifications and as outright fabrications in many cases.

The increasingly expensive federal budgets and their accompanying taxes are commonly attributed to our runaway arms expenditures. However, as the following figures illustrate, our growing budgets are not due to growing military expenditures. In fact as a percentage of the federal budget, our military disbursements are declining steadily as is our absolute layout. **The dollars (in billions) and the percentages of federal budgets spent for defense over the past decade are listed along with White House estimates for 1970 and 1971.**

FISCAL YEAR	DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE	%OF FED. BUDGET
1960	$45.9 billion	49.8%
1961	47.4	48.8%
1962	51.1	47.8%
1963	52.3	46.9%
1964	53.6	45.2%
1965	49.6	41.9%
1966	56.8	42.2%
1967	70.1	44.3%
1968	80.5	45.0%
1969	81.2	44.0%
1970	79.4	40.1%
1971	73.6	36.7%

Now while up to 1969 our increasing expenditure for new arms and the Viet Nam war is evident in the dollars column, it is also clear that defense spending has not grown at anywhere near the same rate as other federal spending. An increase of 27.7 billion dollars represents a decline of 13.1 percentage points in the decade since Dwight D. Eisenhower left office warning us of M-I-C. Even in the year 1967, when defense spending took the greatest leap, the concomitant rise of other government spending rendered a 13.3 billion dollar jump into a relatively minor 2.1 percentage points, and in every year listed, the percentage of the United States' GNP expended for defense has registered between 8 and 10 per cent. It seems evident that M-I-C has been taking the blame for a lot of economic woes, both national and individual, which might better be attributed to bumbling attempts at managing the economy and Bnobdignagian new government expenditures on social welfare.

When confronted with these facts, the witch-hunters of America's Left typically inform us that **that** is not what they were talking about. One Richard Kaufman of **The Nation** finds such figures no more relevant than "the square of the moon's diameter." He shifts the discussion away from the dollars and cents arena to a fascinating new game called "National Priorities." What Liberals have been asking all the time, they assure us, is whether we might not better spend our defense budget on other programs more vital to our interests. Although I may seem a bit harsh for saying so, to neglect military expenses for "other priorities" seems rather like asking Sir Lancelot if it is not more important for him to tend to a blister on his heel than to defend against a sword which is rapidly descending in the direction of his noble head. Ignoring the argument that most domestic spending is wrong-headed, tending to create a class of parasites and other social problems, I can still take issue with the notion that any program can have higher priority than defense at this moment in history. Whether the critics are the extremists who would have us disarm entirely or the more "moderate" types who suggest we should only cut the military budget in half, the same basic premise ultimately must underlie their argument--namely, that the Russians' totalitarian regime will, if given the chance, be happy to stop building weapons and call the Cold War a tie. This seems shockingly naive, and I must agree with Frank S. Meyer that if and when the Russians feel they have the ability to destroy American retaliatory strength with a first strike, they will launch such a strike. By refusing to continue the arms race we would give our avowed enemy the opportunity to develop a first strike knockout punch, and no matter how emotionally gratifying it is to dream, the Soviets are not going to turn their spears into pruning hooks.

Meyer would have us go one step further, increasing our military spending until we are capable of overpowering the Russians by force or by threat of force. His reasoning is simply that our economy can afford massive increases in weapons spending which the Russians cannot afford. But for the admitted improbability of this plan being implemented, there can be little argument against it. Certainly Meyer recognizes war for the ghastly endeavor that it is even without the noise, glory and casualty lists, but in war the first national priority is survival of the nation. Those who claim money is being poured into unneeded and useless weaponry do not see us as participants in a struggle for survival, and refuse to believe Soviet Russia is our enemy in any more than a battle for economic supremacy. Unfortunately the only way to convince such neo-Chamberlains is to await the Russian response to unilateral disarmament perhaps hazarding Chamberlain's fate.

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Let's Give Manifest Destiny A Chance

by John Kelley

Can anyone seriously question that America's sense of national destiny has experienced spasms of catatonia? Can anyone deny that America has momentarily lost that spirit of adventure that conquered a continent in a century? Can anyone contradict the assertion that America is undergoing an identity crisis? In the streets of metropolitan America impudent snobs attack Max Lerner's much beloved civilization as Fascism incarnate. In the groves of the academy Herbert Marcuse et al. equate traditional American tolerance with oppression. From the crayon of America's resident court jester, arthur m. schlesinger, jr., we learn that the most ferocious violence has characterized America's past. Picky, picky.

Clearly the Second World War was a watershed in this national self-derangement. Prior to Yalta, America's reputation abroad and at home was relatively unsullied; consequently few heeded the degenerate polemics of the left. Yes, prior to Yalta America still held hope for the persecuted and the vanquished. In the words of one emigre of the thirties, Olga Schnitzler, widow of the Viennese novelist Arthur Schnitzler: "So much is here to learn and to see. Everyone has been given an opportunity. Everyone who has not been completely worn out experiences here a kind of rebirth. Everyone feels what a grandiose, complex and broadminded country America is, how well and free one can live among these people without perfidy and malice. Yes, we have lost a homeland, but we have found a world."

Even before America's entrance into World War II, however, the left-of-center intellectual community was busy planning its leadership of the post-war giant down the path of international ameliorism and self-martyrdom for the rights of all mankind. In 1940 Lewis Mumford, Thomas Mann, Van Wyck Brooks, Gaento Salvemini and Reinhold Niebuhr published "The City of Man" detailing America's future world role:

> Here, almost nowhere else, is Europe: The Europe-America that will become all things to all men to save them all. Rulership by the strong and wisest is the prescribed path to equality for all. The healing of the world requires a firm hand .....American leadership is world trusteeship; the **Pax American**; a preamble to the **Pax Humana.**

Note the phrasing, "the Pax America; a preamble to the Pax Humana." In short America, with the assistance of America's thalidomide intellectuals, was to receive the corporate gestalt of ritualistic liberaldumb's troubled conscience. Suffering from a guilt complex that would have burdened Luther, America's liberals resolved that America's non-involvement in world politics should never again prompt a catastrophe of World War II's proportions. Voila! The United Nations!

Anyone, then or now, who believes in the efficacy of that Ladies Aid Society must partake of the chiliastic tradition of Thomas Paine, Woodrow Wilson and Hen House Humphrey. The United Nations reminds one of the foolishness of one who should have known better--Andrew Carnegie. In his instructions to the trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Andrew suggested that "When war is discarded as disgraceful to civilized man, the Trustees will please then consider what is the next most degrading evil whose banishment. . .would most advance the progress, elevation and happiness of man."

To anyone with a modicum of common sense, the inefficacy of the United Nations for bringing world peace was almost immediately obvious. Writing in 1949 the astute observer W. Stull Holt noted the irrelevance of Gotham's Tower of Babel:

> The United Nations as now constituted offers no solution or escape. The two decisive facts in the existing international situation are 1) all states have physical power and 2) no superior physical power exists over them. Only if these two facts are reversed can international organization eliminate power politics, the balance of power, and war.

Intellectual zealots of "world order" simultaneously recognized the UN's peculiar weakness, and resolved that it must be modified in order to create a truly supernational state a la Dante's **De Monarchia**. The scheme? Convince the world, and America particularly, that atomic weapons made national states no longer defensive. "Heavy hangs the Sword of Damocles?" warned the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists while it played with the hands of its Mickey Mouse Clock--alternately placing the hands closer to or farther from 12 midnight (which indicates immediate nuclear war). Increasing the intensity and the illogic of the campaign, Robert M. Hutchins announced that "World Government is necessary; therefore it is possible." The political scientist John H. Herz collaborated by "discovering" the demise of national "impermeability" or "territoriality", the prime requisites for traditional sovereignty.

Capstoning this insanity, W.W. Rostow, shortly to be appointed John F. Kennedy's foreign policy advisor, published in 1960 **The United States in the World Arena** calling for the dissolution of the United States:

> It is a legitimate American national objective to see removed from all nations--including the United States--the right to use substantial military force to pursue their own interests.
> . . . . Since this residual right is the root of national sovereignty and the basis for the existence of an international arena of power, it is, therefore, an American interest to see an end to nationhood as it has been historically defined.

In his book Rostow argued that war is not a nice thing. How do we obliterate such nasties? Why, eliminate the state, naturally!

> National sovereignty means that nations retain the ultimate right--a right sanctioned by law, custom, and what decent men judge to be legitimacy--the right to be legitimacy--the right to kill people of other nations in defense of or in pursuit of what they judge to be their national interests.

As most American citizens are too level-headed to be conned by such fatuous arguments, the enemies of permanent things looked longingly for manifestations of the intrinsic evils lurking in American statehood. The unfortunate juxtaposition in the sixties of repeated political assassinations, urban riots, and mutilation of civilians (culminating in the tragic My Lai incident) provided them with the material for the most vile slanders on America's national character and history. No accusation could be too odious for some members of the intelligentsia. Listen to the slurs of the paranoid left mouthed by Frederick L. Schuman in the **Monthly Review** (February, 1967). It is worth quoting at some length.

> What has come to pass is at once simple and appalling. LBJ and Company have merged in toto with the "military-industrial-complex" against which Ike warned in his Farewell Address. JFK was learning to resist it when he was slain. (Note the conspiratorial innuendo--Author). LBJ, Humphrey, Rusk, and McNamara are part of it. Its formula for dealing with all problems is uniform military force. If this leads to war, so much the better, for war means more money for Big Business and Big Labor and the Pentagon. The result is militarism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism gone mad. The United States is now the most feared and hated nation on the planet and a menace to the peace of all mankind.
> . . .The brutalizing spectacle of LBJ and Company resorting to lawless violence in the Caribbean and in South East Asia is a green light for all violent souls at home: criminals, murderers, both retail and wholesale, race rioters, white and black, and all the dregs of a diseased society whose leaders are dragging it to doom.

Talk of the American Far Right's Zoroastrian complex? Clearly America must reject such thinking and its implications, or else disavow any intention of protecting its international standing. America today confronts what Wolfgang Friedmann calls "the agony and travail of a country torn between a moralizing demand and aspirations of an imperial power." The subject of "realism v. idealism" in international politics is an involved one at best, and need not concern us here. What does concern us, however, is a growing feeling of self-doubt manifested in a national way by the public's response to President Nixon's "Vietnamization" of the Asian Conflicts. Surveys indicate that

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NATHAN (continued from page 2)

terribly amusing--manifest the continued juvenescence of both the student movement and its parent, Ritualistic Liberalism. As Robert Nisbet cogently remarked in **Encounter** (February, 1970), the student movement never was interested in academic reform or serious intellectual pursuits. Viewed from one perspective, it has ballyhooed trivia and trauma, and from another it is a seasonal children's crusade bent on righting history's misdemeanors—wrongs which are generally the hallucinations of "avant garde" Liberals or, as my colleague George Plunkitt would say, thalidomide intellectuals.

Christians identify this endeavor as a balmy attempt to eliminate Original Sin--perhaps an admirable pursuit for theological illiterates and a natural exertion for leftish agnostics but in the long run hopeless and nonsensical. Ultimately the student movement--as with Eliot's **Hollow Men**--suffers "Shape without form, shade without colour, Paralyzed force, gesture without motion...." Its only mystery is how much it will cost democracy and what its demise will have wrought. It is in all things a cheap imitation, a movement reflecting the anguished spasms of dying Liberalism. Our citizens need not loose their moorings on account of King Parker I. He is really most amusing—a counterfeit Panther and a confused casualty of Liberal fantasy. In reacting to his election may I counsel serenity. Firstly this great man did not exactly receive the I.U. students' most explicit summons. In fact their summons could not have been more feeble had they been afflicted with sleeping sickness. Parker's total vote (out of 30,000 students he enchanted 2,289) was lower than that of any other student president in the last ten years--a decade which witnessed a doubling in the size of the I.U. student body. His total was lower than six of the last eight runners-up. And in 1967 all three candidates attracted wider support. Actually Hoosier citizens may find comfort in the fact that only 5,830 wayward students showed the poor taste to vote.

Secondly if citizens compare King Parker I with his idols the Panthers who spend their time bastinadoing fellow citizens, filching shoe shine boys, stealing off to Castro's Island Paradise and swindling Leonard Bernstein, they will see that he is content with lecturing the "repressed people" (college kids), issuing to the whole wide world imaginative demands and--on the national level--attempting to outclass the media's publicized student leaders in appearing asinine. So unfortunately for Parker the Magnificent his heroics fall far short of his Panther All-Stars. Of course he could always sell protection to children's lemonade stands but he had best knock off the local blind man's concession stand if he ever hopes to attract Yale's misologists to his cause or suck in the learned Kingman Brewster to whimper on his behalf. So I dismiss his claims to Pantherhood, suggesting that he is afflicted by delusions of grandeur.

Yet his recent orations still nibble at my conscience. Parker the Magnificent is not to be gaily dismissed in a shower of horselaughs. This man has the most extraordinary gift for roaring a memorable quote. My appreciation for this remarkable faculty was first whetted when King Parker I decided to reassure the pig press by lilting, "The Black Panther Party is detached from campus politics. The campus is not headquarters for the Black Panther Party." Continuing his desultory attempt to shed light on what must have been a fascinating youth he recently chirped "I was a Boy Scout." And after an inspiring session during which our distinguished student senate declared its "solidarity with Bobby Seale and all political prisoners in the U.S. (A., I presume)..." he added augustly, "In essence, all I can say is 'Right on.' " Bravo, bravo. Then while lecturing a crowd of juvenile delinquents in Dung Meadow his essential Methodism leaked out as he admonished them for "rampant mad-dog adventurism" and (get this) "left opportunism," adding that if the crowd persisted he would personally "whup 'em." Unfortunately, as you can see, what makes these quotes memorable is not their elegance but their confusion. In speaking at a recent rally publicizing yet a later rally he candidly stressed that there might be violence and rustically urged "people who are playing with themselves to stay away." If that statement failed to attract peculiar people whatever would attract them?

Anyone who talks like Parker--expressing such quaintly oxymoronic thoughts at once so sensitive, at once so calloused, always so naive--is bound to be dangerous, as dangerous as ill-trained National Guardsmen amidst a crowd of frenzied student saints. Hence as this magazine goes to press we chortle less heartily than in the past.

As I file this article there is a rally being held at Indiana University. A crowd of seven thousand persons has gathered to listen to Parker and his entourage of magnificoes. In years past it would have been unthinkable that seven thousand students would purposely expose themselves to the temper tantrums of Yahoos. But Mr. Nixon has followed the dictates of his well-advised conscience in attempting to terminate war in Indochina, and four students have been killed in an insurrection in Ohio. Here in Bloomington an oily-faced coed carries a sign: "4 Dead Why?" The tragedy of all this is that the students really do not know why. They do not know why people cannot forever burn buildings and trample authority. Their teachers have not told them why we have authority and what is democratic government. Their teachers have not transferred to them an understanding of social organization and the boundaries of civilization. And for a certitude, their teachers are not preparing them for life in a free society.

I doubt that any ideology has ever been more derelict in caring for its acolytes than the contemporary Liberalism reigning almost unchallenged in our universities. Certainly none has ever so coldly exploited Blacks and students to coerce America's democratic authorities, arming them only with alibis and abstractions and never enlightening them to the cost of violence.

Contrary to the soothsayers' claim that this is the most enlightened generation of all, this is America's most ignorant generation. Yet the guilt rests not with the young but with the penthouse revolutionaries who, in the media and from the lectern, urge them on and with the Liberals who praise and inspire them. These are the ones responsible for those deaths in Ohio, and these are the ones we shall look to if poor Mr. Parker is harmed.

Dr. George Nathan, a senior editor of The Alternative, *is chancellor of the Free University of Ellettsville.*

COYNE (continued from page 3)

"Please."

The man dissolved into the smoke.

"It's good, isn't it?"

"What?"

"Us. You and I. The beer. The music. Even the waiter with the cleft palate. It's all good."

"Funny. I've been here before."

"Me too. But it's not like before, is it?"

"Not at all."

"It'll be this way from now on."

"Yes."

The drinks came and the man melted again.

"I love you."

"I know."

"Say it."

"All right. I love you too."

"That's right. I like the way you say that. No practice."

"No."

"Cigarette?"

"Yes."

"No one smokes the way you do."

"Everyone smokes the same way."

"Nonsense, you little idiot. You smoke beautifully. Wait. There's some tobacco on your lip. I just wanted to touch you."

"Do you really think I'm beautiful?"

"You're the most beautiful girl in the world. I'm beautiful too. We're both beautiful."

"We are, aren't we?"

"You're so damned young it hurts sometimes."

"There've been others, haven't there?"

"Yes, but none like you. Look, let's go away. Europe. Maybe Greece."

"I'd love that. I can leave college tomorrow. No one cares. Only my aunts. And they're too old to care much."

"By God, we'll do it. We'll go on a liner. A big one."

"Oh Lord, I'm so happy."

"Another drink?"

"Let's not."

"Good. We'll go to my place."

"My dearest."

"You do love me don't you?"

"Yes."

"Say it."

"Please. You say it first."

"I love you, Anne."

"I love you too, Helen."

Silly I know, and perhaps even embarrassingly innocent. But they loved it in the fifties. Even Kerouac. And wouldn't they hate it now?

We didn't really see them coming. Toward the end of the fifties something had begun to stir around, something which made us vaguely uneasy, its shape not quite apprehensible. The beast was awakening, and at first it seemed an innocuous beast.

It was a period of transition. The Korean veterans were finishing up their G.I. bills and were being replaced, in small trickles at first, by a new breed of very young (experientially) and very intense activists. They believed themselves born to free the Negro, to bring social justice to the world, and they took grim civil-rights sabbaticals down South. Later they discovered abuses on the campuses and realized that there was no need to travel all the way to Mississippi to right wrongs. The civil rights movement became the

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KELLEY ON BOOKS

Roosevelt and World War II

by Robert A. Divine

John Hopkins Press, $5.95

Many important books on American diplomatic history have found their origin in the Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History at Johns Hopkins University: books by Arthur S. Link, Dexter Perkins, Julius W. Pratt to suggest a few. In 1968 Robert A. Divine delivered the Shaw lectures which were subsequently published as Roosevelt and World War II, a slim volume discussing Roosevelt as an isolationist, an interventionist, a realist and a pragmatist.

Briefly stated, Divine offers the standard assessment of Roosevelt the diplomatist; to wit Roosevelt was not equipped to function effectively in the international sphere, and that he unwisely tried to employ his "personality" to manipulate Stalin--much as he might have dealt with a family squabble between Sumner Welles and Cordell Hull or Harold Ickes and Harry Hopkins.

Although the author does provide a convenient summary--in Chapter Three, "Roosevelt the Realist"-- of his earlier study, **Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in America During World War II** (in which he cogently argues that Roosevelt did not, as did Hull, perceive the embryonic United Nations as a panacea), Divine's really novel arguments deal with Roosevelt's pre-Pearl Harbor "isolationist" attitudes.

> If we accept Roosevelt's own public statements at their face value, then we can dismiss the concept of two Roosevelts, one the public figure saying what the people want to hear, the other the private man with an entirely differnet set of beliefs. Equally important, we no longer have to explain Roosevelt's conduct on the basis of a devious political expediency. Instead we can state simply that Roosevelt pursued an isolationist policy out of genuine conviction. (p. 7)

Divine argues that FDR's reaction to events immediately following Munich, rather than the often cited Chicago Quarantine Speech of October 5, 1937, mark Roosevelt's transition "from the isolationist of the mid- 1930's who wanted peace at almost any price to the reluctant internationalist of the early 1940's who leads his country into war in order to preserve its security." In conclusion, Divine believes that "Roosevelt (may) never (have) fully committed himself to American involvement prior to Pearl Harbor." Yet Divine himself acknowledges that the September 1941 decision to convoy British troops would lead to war with Germany. When the reader combines this admission with entries from the Morgenthau diary which quote Roosevelt as waiting for public opinion to push him into war, plus the well-known Rooseveltian sensitivity to the political power of such isolationists as La Follette, Johnson, Wheeler and Taft, it is not difficult to interpret Roosevelt's 1939-1941 actions as a sequence of policy implementations deliberately drawing America closer and closer to a status of co-belligerency, in hopes that some contribution short of undeclared naval warfare (as begun in the Atlantic in the Fall of 1941) might save Great Britain.

Regarding Divine's analysis of Russo-American relations, 1933-1945, he portrays Roosevelt as a realist in his "recognition" of the brutality of the Stalinist dictatorship, citing 1934 comments to Cordell Hull and 1940 remarks made before a contingent of the leftist American Youth Congress. Whatever analysis one makes of Roosevelt's perception of Russia's domestic circumstances, Divine's arguments cannot save Roosevelt's reputation as a statesman. He argues that Roosevelt's major failing vis a vis the Russians was a failure to work out a political settlement before the war ended. Agreed, but where Divine suggests that such a settlement should have accepted Russia's hegemony over Eastern Europe (or at least Stalin's demands to Eden in December 1941 for the pre-Hitler invasion boundaries), other authors have suggested that FDR should have taken a different tack. When might this have been accomplished? Surely it was too late after Truman's ascension to office for the United States to offer effective resistance to the Russian position in Poland, although American troops could have occupied Prague and possibly Berlin. Witness the inefficacy of Truman's supposed new "hard line" in the termination of lend-lease and the denial of long-term credits to Russia. Yet if Roosevelt had taken a harder line with Russia after the revelations of the Katyn Massacre and, later, the deliberate encouragement of the destruction of General Bor-Komorowski's Polish Home Army in the summer of 1944, then surely our post-war position might have improved. As it was, Roosevelt was so concerned with holding together the Grand Alliance that he willingly overlooked these clear indications of true Russian intentions.

When FDR went to Yalta, January 1945, he apparently still had no inkling of the catastrophe that his foreign policy had wrought. Reflecting on those days in the Crimea, Harry Hopkins later recalled how "we really believed in our hearts that this was the dawn of a new day. We were absolutely certain that we had won the first great victory of the peace--and by 'we' I mean all of us, the whole civilized human race." Of such heady thoughts are disasters constructed. □

COYNE (continued from page 12)

anti-war movement which became the anti-America movement.

To us dinosaurs from the deep fifties, these were puzzling types, and we contented ourselves with drinking our Coors and baiting them. There was some sympathy, of course, for we as much as they held no brief for the condition of universities or for racial bigotry. And we didn't really too much mind their intensity, for although the code of the mid-fifties, like the code of all neo-classical periods, called for us to eschew enthusiasm, something way down there in us responded to it (after all our older mentors the Beats, had been romantics). But these kids were humorless, and we didn't like this at all. Then there was that other thing --a great deal of worldly innocence (although not innocence in the pristine sense. One of the things that we hated was that almost overnight it became impossible to seduce girls in the great old round-about way. You just slapped the New Breed girls on the rump and they cooperated willingly and immediately, like earnest young female missionaries accepting vaccination. No fun at all), worldly innocence all mixed up with a dogmatic conviction that they'd seen it all. And it made us uneasy, for they seemed uncomfortably reminiscent of those true believers Eric Hoffer had warned us about, touched--like all true-believers--with a strong streak of uneducated fascism. And it wasn't until much later, when the Berkely riots first erupted, that we understood how right we were to be uneasy.

I was never, as I mentioned earlier, a Beat. But my contemporaries and I shared a great deal in common with them, and our life style--wandering, drinking, brawling, womanizing--was in great part based on theirs. We liked one another, we members of those two generations, and we shared an undiscussed but profound love for our country. My friends and I, I think, are the last survivors of a distinct era, running pretty much consistently from the twenties through the fifties. After us there is a great discontinuity, a chasm across which we've watched something entirely new--frighteningly European--grow up, something completely alien to the American experience. And the surviving Beats (with the exception of freak-outs like Allen Ginsberg, of course, who has had to adapt to insure a continuing supply of young men) share our view of the New Breed. Kerouac died hating them. And Kerouac was almost exactly the same man in 1969 that he was in the mid-fifties. Fatter, less mobile, sick. But the same good man.

But let me stop here. As I look back over this I realize that I haven't at all done what Bob Tyrrell had asked me to do. So many things--professors, panty-raids, fights, trips, poetry, novels, bureaucrats, a little bar in Idaho, a waitress in Montana, boilermakers, jails, Fairbanks, Gallo, sweet lucy, sneaky pete, the Midnight Mission in L.A., truck drivers, Iron City beer, Tiajuana, wisecracks--all of which just have to be talked about if you're to understand the fifties and the Beats and those of us who for a few quick years tried to carry on for them. Too much, and it all begs for a dozen more articles. But maybe this is at least a beginning.

John R. Coyne Jr. is an associate editor of National Review *and chief of McSorley's Anti-Feminist Patrol. His first book on the student movement will be published this fall, and he has assured us it will be his last book on trivia.*

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MEYER (continued from page 4)

incentive to find ways to reduce pollution at a reasonable cost and a strong disincentive to introduce new industrial processes which cause pollution.

In the area of water pollution a major proportion of anti-pollution activity will necessarily take the form of government programs, both because a far greater proportion of water pollution than of air pollution is government caused, and because clean-up projects are possible in this area, while no techniques for cleaning up the air have as yet been developed.

The advantages of the taxation approach over the regulation-government program approach to pollution are manifold. First, by avoiding the all-or-nothing approach, taxation reaches all pollution substantial enough to be worth the effort to detect, while regulation reaches only that which exceeds the specific standards imposed. Second, for the same reason, taxation allows a much smoother adjustment to the problem of pollution in each area and reduces incentives to violate the law. Third, taxation engages the mechanism of the free market in providing solutions, instead of relying on government programs which are inevitably prey to the myriad evils of inflexibility, bureaucracy, and political log-rolling.

Nor is it true that, whatever the evils of the regulation-government program approach, at least it will get this urgent job done. If the history of other government programs is any guide, private industry, given a sufficient economic incentive, will actually get the job done faster, as well as better. The government will neglect large areas, which are either politically invisible or protected by powerful pressure-groups, while concentrating on highly visible improvements which may not eliminate the largest amounts of pollution. Crucial projects will get bogged in red tape, especially if public attention is diverted to other issues, whereas corporations will move fast to avoid falling behind their competitors. Regulatory agencies will have certain rules and guidelines to enforce, whereas private industry will be free to try any approach, under the sanction of increased taxes for failure, and the incentive of lower taxes for success.

I must add a historical note. If common law principles already in existence had been extended to protect individual property rights many years ago, instead of being limited in the name of the "public interest" in the growth of manufacturing, the growth of many industries would have been diverted into cleaner channels. Water pollution, in particular, would be a far less serious problem if the courts had remained strictly true to their function of adjudicating rights rather than making policy.

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TYRRELL (continued from page 6)

ago. And Erich Fromm and Leslie Fiedler are entering those golden years where any exuberance on their part is more likely attributable to senility than to youth. So the leftish thought of the young originates not with the young but with their older teachers, and among these ideas there is not one that was not thought of one hundred years ago. Most of the noisy young supposedly representative of their generation are animating their liberal parents' values. And the more bizarre utternaces of the radicals are inspired by intellectuals of rather ancient vintage.

I have hoped throughout this discussion of youthful thought to suggest that not all young persons think the exotic thoughts the pundits attribute to them. There are of course young conservatives in America (some 51,000 in Young Americans for Freedom and even more in the Intercollegiate Studies Institute), and many more whose values are quite bland. As with the youthful left these young people follow their Buckleys, their Agnews, their Nixons and their parents. How could it be otherwise? To believe that young people can somehow evolve a philosophy or epistemology endemic to just them is to believe in spontaneous generation.

Obviously the claim that an ever widening chasm divides the American youth from his teachers and parents is just another contemporary myth, polluting our intellectual landscape and spread by the litterbugs of the media. Lacking the audacity of Mr. Agnew I dare not suggest the media abandon drama for truth and sensationalism for responsible reportage. Instead I retire to safer ground by suggesting that through the pollution the sun also rises.

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McQUILLEN (continued from page 10)

Since that would be a rather hollow "I told you so" for myself and most readers of this esteemed journal, it seems more advisable to act in any democratic way we can to keep such short-sighted advocates of peace from controlling our government and to make it clear to our present officials that we are willing to support defense as the first national priority.

As argument over defense spending reaches Congress, it takes shape around individual expenditures carefully chosen to draw public attention and disapproval. While we should not support wasteful use of our tax money, we should always keep in mind that even if a proposed ABM or military aircraft is not of immediate value, or is not invulnerable, it was created to plug a gap in our defense which should be filled, either by an improved version of the same design or by a new device. The Military-Industrial-Complex, if you wish to apply the term to the armed forces and the separate industries which supply them, is likely to come up with the most efficient means of achieving any defense goal due to the competition between firms for big contracts. In this case we should be grateful for M-I-C, without which government would flounder about in the monopolistic production of weaponry which will end up working less efficiently and costing more just as in the cases of Social Security and the Postal System.

Finally there is displayed in the left's whole attack on M-I-C a child-like ignorance of how the military budget is arrived at. It is an arabesquely difficult procedure, and I dare mention only a few of its complexities as I am not yet a staff member of the Brookings Institute. Firstly, the military budget cannot be discussed independent of the total economy; inflation effects it profoundly as do other economic variables. Secondly many military expenditures are the consequence of already approved and begun weapons systems. Thirdly there is a natural "cost escalation"--the final costs of weapons systems are always higher than in original estimates due to rising unit costs, changing and increasingly expensive technology and simple administrative stupidity. And fourthly "contingency planning" must be taken into account.

Thus at the outset we find in the much discussed, often damned Military-Industrial Complex a basically overdramatized entity created as a whipping boy and purposely misinterpreted. Having demonstrated the inaccuracy of many commonly held beliefs about military spending, we have further found arguments about defense based on faulty premises. In short, there is no M-I-C war profiteering conspiracy, and where the military branch of the government works with the private sector of business the result is in the best interests of the nation and all its citizens.

D. Peyton McQuillen anticipated the Women's Liberation Front by two years in becoming 1967 Indiana University Homecoming Queen. Now he turns his talents to debunking the hysteria over the Military-Industrial-Complex and showing that even John Kenneth Galbraith is making money at M-I-C's expense.

KELLEY (continued from page 11)

the majority of the American public supports this policy, though simultaneously believing that it will fail and result in a communist victory in South Vietnam. Clearly this resignation in what is seen as a fait accompli indicates a rather strong sentiment for retrenchment, and perhaps hints of a return to neo-isolationism. There could be no more disastrous policy for America in the seventies. This acquiescence in a politically pointless drift with the possibility of a frantic retreat to the womb is due to twenty-five years of erosion of American sovereignty. It can be reversed. Professor George Liska has eloquently noted the serious consequence of such a flight from reality: "An adverse turn in the national mood of an imperial community can terminate the imperial task prematurely only by accelerating the decline and decay of the community itself both as international actor and as national body politic." This need not be our fate. The future lies before us yet unseen, holding its promise and danger. If we shirk our imperial task today, we shall indeed defend our very homes tomorrow. The choice is ours to make. If America is to be true to its idealism and self-interest it is imperative that she play the role of an imperial, but non-imperialistic power. If "absolute power corrupts absolutely," then lack of power also corrupts.

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For years now this revered journal of social conscience has courageously espoused the worthiest causes--always in the name of justice, always against the tide of prejudice, and always against apparently insuperable odds. Our victories have been many, our defeats few and trivial. But one just cause continues to defy our indefatigable genius--the cause of conservation.

Admittedly today we have aroused more compatriots on behalf of conservation than ever before, but lamentably it might now be too late. Extinction appears inevitable for several of the world's rarest and most valuable species. Our colleagues at the World Wildlife Fund and the Fauna Preservation Society tell us that the majestic Mexican grizzly--historically a major antidote to Mexico's minatory population explosion--has now gone the way of the dodo. Further, the Red Data Book *of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources fears for the western giant eland of Senegal, the orangutan and the American liberal. Predatory man stalks the first two. The third is the victim of a kind of reverse evolution.*

The American liberal, though dating back only to about 1763, was one of nature's most marvelous creations. Endowed with a wondrous cerebral agility, intuitive sense of grace and natural compassion, he was, alas, always subject to diseases like populism or demagoguery. And at times he took himself a bit too seriously. Yet today he seems destined for the tar pits because his progeny have evolved to a lower form variously referred to as radical intellectuals or idealistic youth. Taxonomically they are all Ritualistic Liberals, and their declivity is evident in their journals.

*From the following examples you will probably conclude, as we did, that the devolution of liberalism has about reached the level of the jackass. Consider these zany tidbits from that distinguished old journal--once inhabited by so many majestic liberals--*The Nation. *In* The Nation *alone there appears enough arrant bosh to fill this column forever. Now is it not time to collect any specimen of America liberalism still lumbering around the Republic, uttering intelligent if passe mating calls, and stuff him for one of our great museums?*

THE NATION

Straightfaced description of the young political geniuses who make bombs and assure George Wallace his constituency, from a fairy tale reporter at The Nation (subscription price $10 yearly):

> Radical activists tend to have sophisticated notions of political theory, strategy and tactics. Their outrage has been disciplined into organizational activity; they are typically too "rational" to become "adventurists."

Ingeniously the editors of The Nation expose the behind-the-scenes motives for development of the supersonic transport (SST):

> In the meantime, measures for increasing pollution, as on the development of the supersonic transport, go on apace.

Even the anti-Nixon forces of The Nation attribute genius to this great man:

> The new Nixon is but an ingenious version of the old Nixon.

These are sorry times. The drug cult seems to have spread even to the austere offices of The Nation, whose writers now are listening to "rumbling" gaps along the Potomac. What next?

> Before Mr. Nixon has been in office a year and a half, the rumbles of a credibility gap are heard along the Potomac.

Temporarily abandoning the worries of this world the fun-loving Nation reports on Mr. Nixon's attendance at a concert with its typical mad cap humor:

> The concert opened with Hail to the Chief--all players standing--and closed with Tchaikovsky's 1812 Overture. That's the one with the cannon fire, and the Valley Forge Military Academy band joined the orchestra to add martial overtones. Mr. Nixon presented Mr. Ormandy with the Medal of Freedom.

Rueful dispatch from a leading American historical review:

> By all the available evidence, Richard M. Nixon will never inspire the nation to great deeds, nor formulate principles to excite the admiration of mankind.

THE NATION

> America, it is just possible, can be mobilized to repudiate the futile policies that have deranged its values in the last thirty years.

You'd just never guess what great liberal journal has crusaded for these "futile policies" for thirty years, would you?

"Wake up America" as roared by a group of Concerned Citizens over at The Nation:

> The American system economically--'fails to meet the elemental needs of one-third of its people while engaging the others in a frantic cycle of excess work and excess consumption. Politically, it generates impotence, ignorance, and mediocrity among leaders and followers. Socially and psychologically, the American system divides men against one another and against themselves. It is, by and large, a cultural disaster.'

THE NEW YORKER

A humorous little quip from the rustic New Yorker:

> It is important to remember when the effects of bad conduct by the judge are weighed against the effects of bad conduct by the defendants that the trial could not possibly have resulted in the defendants' putting the judge in jail.

NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

A heavenly vision recently beheld on Chicago's Michigan Avenue by the saintly Murray Kempton, D.D.:

> ...Rennie Davis will come to speak to them and his voice will come across the street. "Free Huey, Free Bobby, Smash Capitalism"--the face so young, so serious, so sweet, indeed so brave in the twilight as to seem to give him every right to talk about the shadow of prison upon him too, and still, stubbornly, he will not talk about himself.

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ON THE GOLDWATER CAMPAIGN:

"In those days American conservatives, dreaming of the glorious possibility of a Goldwater victory, envisioned the scene on the Capitol steps during the Inauguration ceremony. 'Do you,' says Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, addressing President-elect Barry Goldwater, 'solemnly swear to defend the Constitution of the United States?' Answers President Goldwater: 'I do. You're under arrest, Warren.'"

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BILL
The Best of Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Compiled by David [illegible] quotes arranged by topic, including some 300

A sampling of the topics and quotes in this bonanza (including 19 karate chops at Lindsay, 16 at LBJ, 7 at Arthur Schlesinger, 6 at Javits)...

Education

College graduates favor Nixon over Humphrey 46-39, which is the best thing anybody has recently remarked about the values of a college education. On the other hand, alumni of graduate schools favor Humphrey over Nixon 41-29, which confirms the worst suspicions we harbor about over-education.

Catholic Church

The crisis of the Catholic church is much written about. *Look* Magazine celebrates it every couple of issues, and its editors have even volunteered to rewrite the Apostles' Creed, reaching a new high in reader service.

Complaining

I profoundly believe it takes a lot of practice to become a moral slob, and that if there is anything the American people are diligently engaged in acquiring, it is that skill, that indifference to things minor which carries over to things major. We simply don't complain about little things; and so a part of our nervous system becomes inert – the part which should be tingling and on edge if we are to escape totalitarianization by those who exercise great power... Start with the little things. Don't become a grouch. But don't let them push you around. If absolutely necessary, refuse to fasten your seat belt.

Mayor John Lindsay

Mr. (Charles) McWhorter is a longtime enthusiast for John Lindsay – they were young Republicans together back when the destruction of New York City was only a gleam in Lindsay's eye.

Lyndon Baines Johnson: After Two Weeks As President

The editors of *National Review* regretfully announce that their patience with President Lyndon B. Johnson is exhausted.

And more, *more*, MORE...

Jimmy Breslin
Academic Cranks
Norman Mailer
Henry Luce
Capital Punishment
Pablo Casals
Negro Militants
Jack Paar
Israel
Privacy
Sailing
Gore Vidal
Young Americans for Freedom
Bobby Kennedy
JFK
FDR
God
Shelley Winters
Richard Nixon
The Constitution
Drugs
Civil Rights
Mayor Daley
Martin Luther King
Private Schools
John Wayne
Spiro Agnew
Joseph Alsop
American Civil Liberties Union
Johann Sebastian Bach
Walter Lippmann
Arthur Goldberg
Libel
Roy Cohn
New Frontier
Owen Lattimore
Eleanor Roosevelt
Adlai Stevenson
Yalta
Ku Klux Klan
Roy Wilkins
New York Times
Nuclear War
Joseph R. McCarthy
Eldridge Cleaver
The Minimum Wage
Castro
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
D.A.R.
Nelson Rockefeller
Dr. Spock
Jesse Unruh
Winston Churchill
Jack Newfield
Harry S. Truman
The Beatles
The Assassinations
CIA
Susan Sontag
Steve Allen
The Telephone Company
David Susskind
Urban Renewal
Irish Catholics
Intellectuals
Henry Cabot Lodge
Walter Cronkite
Herbert Matthews
New York Post
Ombudsmen
Parents
Peace
New York Conservative Party
Hippies
Robert S. McNamara
Welfare
Haight-Ashbury
Hubert Humphrey
Huntley-Brinkley
George Romney
Westbrook Pegler
Billy Graham
Charles Percy
Ralph Ginzburg
Ripon Society
James Wechsler
Village Voice
John Kenneth Galbraith
Greek Junta
SANE
Sexual Revolution
James Baldwin
Sen. Fulbright
Gen. Curtis LeMay
General Hershey
Milton Friedman
Cassius Clay
Harold Wilson
Washington Post
Harold Stassen
Walter Reuther
Pope Paul VI
Tax Reform
Pornography
Clare Boothe Luce
Swiss Bank Accounts
Pravda
Eugene McCarthy
Staughton Lynd
Gen. Douglas MacArthur
Dick Gregory
James Hoffa
Liberal Republicans
The Pueblo
Harvard
Harry Golden
Charles de Gaulle
George Wallace
Ronald Reagan
Columbia University
Whittaker Chambers
College Chaplains
World Council of Churches
Ted Sorensen
George Lincoln Rockwell
...hundreds more!

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